

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 AF-04 EUR-08  
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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6581  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 USUN 4061

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, US, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DRAFT MEMORANDUM

1. FOLLOWING DRAFT MEMORANDUM (SEE PARAGRAPH 4) WAS  
APPROVED BY THE WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP OCTOBER 25,  
AD REFERENDUM TO CAPITALS. THIS MEMORANDUM REPRESENTS A  
DRAFT WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL OUTLINING THE BASIS FOR A  
REASONABLE AND FAIR SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION.  
CONTACT GROUP'S VIEWS ON WESTERN FIVE TACTICS RELATING  
TO THIS DRAFT MEMORANDUM TO FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

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2. FOR PRETORIA: CANADIAN EMBASSY IN PRETORIA IS  
EXPERIENCING CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES IN RECEIVING TRANS-  
MISSIONS OF LENGTHY TEXTS. CANADIAN MISSION TO UN

HAS THEREFORE REQUESTED THAT AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PASS TO  
CANADIAN MISSION IN PRETORIA ALL FUTURE JOINT WESTERN  
FIVE STATEMENT OR TEXTS. USUN HAS AGREED TO PROVIDE SUCH

ASSISTANCE AND THEREFORE REQUESTS THAT YOU PASS FOLLOW-  
ING AND FUTURE JOINT WESTERN FIVE TEXTS TO CANADIAN  
MISSION.

3. ALSO ALL OTHER WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS HAVE ASKED THAT  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA ENSURE THAT THEIR MISSIONS IN PRETORIA  
RECEIVE THE PARTICULAR TEXT WHICH FOLLOWS.

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT MEMORANDUM:  
QUOTE

PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. BEARING IN MIND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS MEMBERS  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE  
GOVERNMENTS OF CANADA, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF  
GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE  
CONSULTED WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES INVOLVED WITH THE  
NAMIBIAN SITUATION WITH A VIEW TO ENCOURAGING AGREEMENT ON  
THE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA TO AN INDEPENDENT  
GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 385, ADOPTED  
UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON 30 JANUARY 1976.

2. TO THIS END, OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE DRAWN UP A  
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PROPOSAL FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAIBIAN QUESTION DESIGNED  
TO BRING ABOUT A TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE DURING 1978  
WITHIN A FRAMEWORK CAPABLE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY THE PEOPLE  
OF NAMIBIA AND THUS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE KEY  
TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE  
IS FREE ELECTIONS FOR THE WHOLE OF NAMIBIA AS ONE POLITICAL  
ENTITY WITH ADEQUATE UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.  
THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS WILL PROPOSE A RESOLUTION IN THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL REQUESTING THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT  
A UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE TASK WILL BE  
TO ENSURE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS THAT WILL ALLOW  
FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AS REQUIRED BY RESOLUTION 385.  
THE CENTRAL TASK OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE TO  
ENSURE THE FAIRNESS AND IMPARTIALITY OF THE ELECTORAL  
PROCESS. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE ASSISTED BY A  
UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE GROUP.

3. THE PURPOSE OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IS TO ELECT  
REPRESENTATIVES TO A NAMIBIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH  
WILL DRAFT THE CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA.  
AUTHORITY WOULD BE TRANSFERRED DURING 1978 TO THE GOVERNMENT  
OF NAMIBIA.

4. A MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSAL IS CONTAINED BELOW. OUR GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THIS PROPOSAL PROVIDES AN EFFECTIVE BASIS FOR IMPLEMENTING RESOLUTION 385 WHILE TAKING ADEQUATE ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES INVOLVED. IN CARRYING OUT HIS RESPONSIBILITIES THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL DEAL WITH THE OFFICIAL APPOINTED BY SOUTH AFRICA (THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL) TO ENSURE THE ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS WORKING ARRANGEMENT SHALL IN NO WAY CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN AND ADMINISTRATION OF NAMIBIA.

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## II. THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

5. IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385, FREE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD, FOR THE WHOLE OF NAMIBIA AS ONE POLITICAL ENTITY, TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO FREELY AND FAIRLY DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE. THE ELECTIONS WILL BE UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

IN THAT, AS A CONDITION TO THE CONDUCT OF THE ELECTORAL  
PROCESS, THE ELECTIONS THEMSELVES, AND THE CERTIFICATION OF  
THEIR RESULTS, THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
WILL HAVE TO SATISFY HIMSELF AS TO THE FAIRNESS AND  
APPROPRIATENESS OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AT  
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EACH STAGE. HE WILL KEEP THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS INFORMED OF HIS SATISFACTION OR DISSATISFACTION  
IN THESE RESPECTS.

6. ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD TO SELECT A CONSTITUENT  
ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL DRAFT A CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT  
NAMIBIA. THE CONSTITUTION WILL DETERMINE THE ORGANIZATION  
AND POWERS OF ALL LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT. EVERY ADULT PERSON  
WHO IS FAIRLY DETERMINED TO BE A NAMIBIAN CITIZEN WILL BE  
ELIGIBLE, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION OR FEAR OF INTIMIDATION  
FROM ANY SOURCE, TO VOTE, CAMPAIGN AND STAND FOR ELECTION TO  
THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. VOTING WILL BE BY SECRET BALLOT,  
WITH PROVISIONS MADE FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT READ OR WRITE.  
THE DATE FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, THE  
DATE OF ELECTIONS, THE DELINEATION OF ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCIES,  
THE PREPARATION OF VOTERS ROLLS, AND OTHER ASPECTS OF ELECTORAL  
PROCEDURES WILL BE PROMPTLY DECIDED UPON SO AS TO GIVE ALL  
POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTERESTED PERSONS, WITHOUT REGARD TO  
IDEOLOGY, A FULL AND FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO ORGANIZE AND  
PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. FULL FREEDOM OF SPEECH,  
ASSEMBLY, MOVEMENT AND APRES SHALL BE GUARANTEED. ALL OF  
THESE ELECTORAL PROCEDURES WILL TAKE EFFECT ONLY AFTER THE  
UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE HAS SATISFIED HIMSELF  
AS TO THEIR FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATENESS. THE IMPLEMENTATION  
OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, INCLUDING THE PROPER REGISTRATION  
OF VOTERS AND THE PROPER AND TIMELY TABULATION AND PUBLICATION  
OF VOTING RESULTS WILL ALSO HAVE TO BE CONDUCTED TO THE  
SATISFACTION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

6. THE FOLLOWING REQUIREMENTS WILL BE FULFILLED TO  
THE SATISFACTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
IN ORDER TO MEET THE OBJECTIVE OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS:

--ALL NAMIBIANS HELD BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES  
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AS POLITICAL PRISONERS OR POLITICAL DETAINEES WILL BE  
RELEASED PRIOR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN AND  
PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE FULLY AND FREELY IN THAT PROCESS,  
WITHOUT RISK OF ARREST, DETENTION, INTIMIDATION OR IMPRISON-

MENT. PERSONS CONVICTED AND DETAINED UNDER LAWS, REGULATIONS OR ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS WHICH ARE BEING REPEALED WILL AUTOMATICALLY BE SO RELEASED. ANY DISPUTES CONCERNING RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS OR POLITICAL DETAINEES SHALL BE RESOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

--ALL NAMIBIAN REFUGEES OR NAMIBIANS DETAINED OR OTHERWISE OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA WILL BE PERMITTED TO RETURN AND PARTICIPATE FULLY AND FREELY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WITHOUT RISK OF ARREST, DETENTION, INTIMIDATION OR IMPRISONMENT. SUITABLE ENTRY POINTS WILL BE DESIGNATED FOR THESE PURPOSES.

-- THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL SEEK THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND OTHER APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL BODIES TO ENSURE THAT NAMIBIANS REMAINING OUTSIDE OF NAMIBIA BE GIVEN A FREE AND VOLUNTARY OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN. WHERE NECESSARY, PROVISION WILL BE MADE TO ATTEST TO THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF DECISIONS MADE BY NAMIBIANS WHO ELECT NOT TO RETURN TO NAMIBIA.

-- PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN, THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WILL REPEAL ALL LAWS, REGULATIONS, OR ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS WHICH MIGHT ABRIDGE OR INHIBIT THE ENJOYMENT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, MOVEMENT, PRESS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. ANY REMAINING LAWS, REGULATIONS OR ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS ADJUDGED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO BE DISCRIMINATORY WILL ALSO BE REPEALED AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE.

8. A COMPREHENSIVE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILE ACTS SHALL BE OBSERVED BY ALL PARTIES IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WILL BE FREE FROM INTERFERENCE AND INTIMIDATION.  
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ANNEX A DESCRIBES PROVISIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CESSATION OF ALL HOSTILE ACTS, MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE GROUP, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES, AND ARRANGEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO OTHER ORGANIZED FORCES IN NAMIBIA AND THE FORCES OF SWAPO. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE REQUIRED TO SATISFY HIMSELF AS TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THESE ARRANGEMENTS AND WILL KEEP THE SECRETARY GENERAL INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGARD.

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9. RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD WILL BE ASSUMED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BY THE EXISTING POLICE FORCES. THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL TAKE STEPS TO GUARANTEE AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF INTIMIDATION OR INTERFERENCE WITH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS FROM WHATEVER QUARTER.

10. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION RESULTS, THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL MEET TO DRAFT AND ADOPT A CONSTITUTION FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. IT WILL CONCLUDE ITS WORK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO AS TO PERMIT THE HOLDING OF ANY REFERENDUM OR ELECTIONS WHICH MAY BE REQUIRED  
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FOR THE INSTALLATION OF AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA DURING 1978.

11. THESE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND THE ACTIONS OF THE PARTIES IN CARRYING THEM OUT SHALL IN NO WAY PREJUDICE THE CLAIMS OF ANY PARTY. IN PARTICULAR, THE FUTURE STATUS

OF WALVIS BAY FOLLOWING NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE SHALL NOT BE PREJUDICED THEREBY.

12. ALL PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION SHALL GIVE FULL COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND ALL OTHER UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL IN CARRYING OUT THEIR ASSIGNED FUNCTIONS.

13. WE WOULD EXPECT SOUTH AFRICA TO TRANSMIT A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS STATING THAT IT ACCEPTS THE PROVISIONS DISCUSSED IN THIS SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL AND INTENDS TO IMPLEMENT THEM. WE WOULD LIKEWISE EXPECT SWAPO TO TRANSMIT A LETTER STATING ITS ACCEPTANCE OF AND INTENTION TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THIS SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL.

ANNEX A

ABBREVIATIONS APPEARING IN ANNEX A

AG - ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL;  
RES - REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
SWAPO - SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION  
SYG - SECRETARY GENERAL OF UNITED NATIONS  
UN - UNITED NATIONS  
UNSR - UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
UNSC - UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL  
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UNTAG - UNITED NATIONS TRANSITION ASSISTANCE GROUP

TIMING

AT DATE UNSPECIFIED:

SAG: AGREEMENT TO SETTLEMENT PACKAGE  
SWAPO: AGREEMENT TO SETTLEMENT PACKAGE  
UN: NONE  
OTHER ACTION:

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING AGREEMENT TO SETTLEMENT PACKAGE:

SAG: NONE  
SWAPO: NONE  
UN: NONE  
OTHER ACTION: REQUEST BY WESTERN FIVE FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, ACCOMPANIED BY COMPREHENSIVE MEMORANDUM OUTLINING THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT

TIMING:

WITHIN ONE WEEK FOLLOWING AGREEMENT:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: UNSC PASSES RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING SYG TO  
APPOINT UNSR AND REQUESTING HIM TO SUBMIT  
PLAN FOR UN INVOLVEMENT. SYG APPOINTS UNSR  
AND DISPATCHES UN CONTINGENCY PLANNING GROUP  
TO NAMIBIA. SYG BEGINS CONSULTATIONS WITH  
POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN UNTAG.

OTHER ACTION: NONE

BY END OF SECOND WEEK FOLLOWING AGREEMENT:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: SYG REPORTS BACK TO UNSC.  
UNSC PASSES RESOLUTION ADOPTING PLAN FOR UN  
INVOLVEMENT.

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GA ACTION ON FINANCING.

OTHER ACTION: NONE:

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TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FORMALLY BEGINS ON DATE OF UNSC PASSAGE OF  
RESOLUTION ADOPTING SYG'S PLAN:

SAG: GENERAL CESSATION OF HOSTILE ACTS COMES UNDER UN  
SUPERVISION. RESTRICTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES OF ALL SOUTH  
AFRICAN FORCES INCLUDING ETHNIC FORCES.

SWAPO: GENERAL CESSATION OF HOSTILE ACTS COMES UNDER UN  
SUPERVISION. RESTRICTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES.

UN: UNSR AND STAFF (UNTAG) ARRIVE IN NAMIBIA TO ASSUME  
DUTIES.

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UN MILITARY PERSONNEL COMMENCE MONITORING OF CESSATION  
OF HOSTILE ACTS AND COMMENCE MONITORING OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICAN  
AND SWAPO TROOP RESTRICTIONS. BEGIN INFILTRATION PREVENTION  
AND BORDER SURVEILLANCE. BEGIN MONITORING OF POLICE FORCES.  
BEGIN MONITORING OF CITIZEN FORCES, COMMANDOS, ETHNIC  
FORCES, AND MILITARY PERSONNEL PERFORMING CIVILIAN FUNCTIONS.  
UNSR ESTABLISHES LIAISON OFFICES IN ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA.

OTHER ACTION: NONE

WITHIN SIX WEEKS:

SAG: RESTRICTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.  
FORCE LEVELS REDUCED TO 12,000 MEN.

SWAPO: RESTRICTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.

UN: APPROPRIATE ACTION BY UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR  
REFUGEES OUTSIDE NAMIBIA TO ASSIST IN RETURN  
OF EXILES.  
ALL UN ACTIVITY CONTINUES.

OTHER ACTION: ESTABLISHMENT IN NAMIBIA OF PROVISIONS TO  
FACILITATE RETURN OF EXILES.  
ESTABLISHMENT AND PUBLICATION OF GENERAL RULES  
FOR ELECTIONS.  
RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS/DETAINEES WHEREVER  
HELD HAS BEGUN.

OTHER ACTION: (CONTINUED) COMPLETION OF REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY  
LAWS AND RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION.  
DISMANTLEMENT OF COMMAND STRUCTURES OF  
CITIZEN FORCES, COMMANDOS AND ETHNIC FORCES,  
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INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN  
SOLDIERS ATTACHED TO THESE UNITS.  
ALL ARMS (OTHER THAN PERSONAL), MILITARY EQUIPMENT,  
AND AMMUNITION POSSESSED BY MEMBERS OF CITIZEN FORCES  
AND COMMANDOS CONFINED TO DRILL HALLS UNDER UN  
SUPERVISION. AG TO ENSURE THAT NONE OF THESE FORCES  
WILL DRILL OR CONSTITUTE AN ORGANIZED FORCE DURING THE  
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD EXCEPT UNDER ORDER OF THE  
AG WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF UNSR.

WITHIN NINE WEEKS:

SAG: RESTRUCTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.  
FORCE LEVELS REDUCED TO 8,000 MEN.

SWAPO: RESTRUCTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.  
PEACEFUL REPATRIATION UNDER UN SUPERVISION  
STARTS FOR RETURN THROUGH DESIGNATED ENTRY POINTS.

UN: ALL UN ACTIVITY CONTINUES.

OTHER ACTION: NONE

WITHIN TWELVE WEEKS:

SAG: RESTRUCTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.  
FORCE LEVELS REDUCED TO 4,000 MEN.

SWAPO: RESTRUCTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.  
PEACEFUL REPATRIATION UNDER UN SUPERVISION  
CONTINUES FOR RETURN THROUGH DESIGNATED ENTRY POINTS.

UN: ALL UN ACTIVITY CONTINUES.

OTHER ACTION: NONE

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WITHIN SIXTEEN WEEKS:

SAG: FORCE LEVELS REDUCED TO 1500 MEN, RESTRUCTED  
TO A SINGLE BASE. WITH EXCEPTION OF THIS  
BASE, ALL BASES ALONG NORTHERN BORDER WOULD BY  
NOW BE DEACTIVATED. ANY MAINTENANCE FUNCTION  
WOULD BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF UN PERSONNEL.

SWAPO: RESTRUCTION TO ESTABLISHED BASES CONTINUES.

UN: ALL UN ACTIVITY CONTINUES.  
MILITARY SECTION OF UNTAG NUMBERS IN THE  
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AREA OF 2,000 MEN WITH MAXIMUM TO BE DETERMINED  
BY ITS OPERATIONAL AND LOGISTICAL REQUIREMENTS.

OTHER ACTION: COMPLETION OF RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS/  
DETAINEES WHEREVER HELD.

START OF SEVENTEENTH WEEK:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: NONE

OTHER ACTION: OFFICIAL START OF CAMPAIGN OF FOUR TO FIVE MONTHS' DURATION.

ON DATE ESTABLISHED BY AG TO SATISFACTION OF UNSR:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: NONE

OTHER ACTION: ELECTION TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

TWO DAYS AFTER DATE OF CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION:

TWO DAYS AFTER DATE OF CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION:

SAG: COMPLETION OF WITHDRAWAL.

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SWAPO: CLOSURE OF ALL BASES.

UN: UN ACTIVITY CONTINUES

OTHER ACTION: CONVENING OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

AT DATE UNSPECIFIED:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: NONE

OTHER ACTIONS: CONCLUSION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT

BY DECEMBER 31, 1978 AT LATEST:

SAG: NONE

SWAPO: NONE

UN: NONE

OTHER ACTIONS: INDEPENDENCE

UNQUOTE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 26-Oct-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION IO  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 13  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** LIMDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 777985  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NAMIBIA: DRAFT MEMORANDUM  
**TAGS:** PORG, PDEV, SF, WA, US, FR, CA, UK, GE  
**To:** STATE PRETORIA  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/d00f9126-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009